

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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WHOLE No 901

LIFE AND DEATH.

So he died for his faith. That is fine—
More than most of us do.
But say, can you add to that line
That he lived for it, too?

In his death he bore witness at last
As a martyr to truth.
Did his life do the same in the past
From the days of his youth?

It is easy to die. Men have died
For a wish or a whim—
From bravado or passion or pride.
Was it harder for him?

But to live—every day to live out
All the truth that he dreamt,
While his friends met his conduct with doubt
And the world with contempt.

Was it thus that he plodded ahead,
Never turning aside?
Then we'll talk of the life that he led.
Never mind how he died.

Ernest Crosby in "Conservator."

Dialogue Between the Machine Gun and the Mauser.

"H'm, h'm! Hot work and dusty," grumbled the Machine Gun as he blew a puff of powder grime from his black mouth. "I wish somebody would swab out my throat. That's the way with men. It's good old Destroyer when I'm doing dirty work for them; but when it's done I can take care of myself!"

"Hot work? Well, I've seen a little of it today myself," shrilled a voice by the side of the Gun, as a Mauser swelled to emulate his larger companion.

"Well, little brother," sniffed the Machine Gun, in contempt, "what have you done in the cause of civilization and humanity?"

"O, not so much as yourself, great Destroyer, but quite a bit in my small way. Our captain went out to find an insurgent camp. We found them all right," and the Mauser leered. "One volley, and a charge sent them flying to the bush, the cowards! True, they had only bolos, and our command was armed with brothers of mine—and we send a ball through a man a mile away. Small good did it do them, the rebels! We surrounded the jungle, and some of us leapt the tangle, driving the savages out in the open. Then there was fun. We popped them over as fast as they ran out. And the captain honored me by employing my services himself. The captain is a good hunter, but he said it was the finest sport he ever had. Like knocking over jackrabbits. Still it didn't seem just right to me to kill them just because they wanted independence. 'A thing very precious to Americans,' I heard the general say in a speech."

"You don't understand," growled the Machine Gun. "The Anglo-Saxons are the chosen people, and the other races were made to be exploited by them. Any who do not submit to be governed and taxed by the elect are desperate savages, and

those who resist having the blessings of a Christian civilization thrust upon them are vicious barbarians, and must be exterminated!"

"It may be so! It may be so," piped the Mauser. "But tell me of your work in extending freedom."

"Well, my throat is pretty sore. Don't feel much like talking. My deeds speak for me. However, you seem to be a good little fellow, so I'll tell you a bit. About three hundred men left Cavite yesterday morning for the purpose of pacifying the country. I was taken out and burnished and oiled until I worked like a watch. O, I'm a great pacifier! Ha! Ha! The rebels I meet are always peaceful afterward. Then the colonel gave the order, and away we went. A score of men with ropes pulled me over mountains that are impassable for a horse. How the men cursed and growled as they toiled and sweated in dragging me along! But I repaid them well. Well, this morning, as we neared a village, a bullet hurtled out of the jungle, and down went a soldier who was walking by my side, with a hole drilled through his lungs. There, you may see a splash of his blood near my muzzle! Then the colonel swore an oath that he would teach the wretches a lesson, and he threw a cordon about the village. Then he ordered me brought up and placed so as to rake the clustered dwellings. I began to be impatient. How slow the gunner was! At last all was ready. How I leapt to my work! The mad joy of destruction thrills me with wild exultation. I send out the balls in a perfect hurricane. Through the frail huts they crash, destroying all in them. Household goods, and living men, and women, too, I pierce, and they lie in a mass of wreckage together. From one hovel to another I am trained, leaving ruin in my track. The first house I swept was a little more substantial than the rest, and in it a woman crouched with an infant cradled in her arms. Crashing, tearing, rending, I sent a fury of deadly missiles through the flimsy walls, and one rent a great gaping wound in her side. She gasped once, and fell over on the earthen floor. After a while the little brown baby crawled out from beneath the prostrate woman and dabbled its tiny hands in the crimson blood that was forming a pool by the side of the dead. Then, with cooing sounds, it strove to awaken the silent mother. Ah! she was so still! The gray terror stole over the little dawning soul. Why did not the loving arms gather it to her bosom? It was so alone, so forsaken, so helpless! Then the horror became articulate, and it wailed. I had swept the other homes from existence. Then the colonel ordered: 'Give that first hut another volley or two!' The gunner pointed me about. The wail of the child hurt me. O! if I could only make the men hear that cry! But the ears of the men were deafened by the concussion from the guns' reports. For a moment I hesitated. 'The gun is jammed!' cried the colonel with a black curse.

"Then I thought that I was only a thing of iron and steel, while men had hearts of flesh and blood; and besides they were doing the work of a great Christian nation, a work supported by a great majority of the Christians of that nation, or we

would not be killing in this country, little brother. Then I bent to my duty again. At the first volley I brought down a portion of the hut and sent a bullet across the little one's throat, and the weeping ceased. The 'niggers' had been taught a lesson!"

"Great work! Great work!" squeaked the Mauser, but I heard the chaplain say that America was the foremost nation in the world in carrying to the races dwelling in darkness the gospel of Christ. Do you think, Destroyer, that the deeds you and I do are according to Christ's gospel?"

"It is very evident that one of your small caliber cannot understand the duty of a Christian nation toward an inferior people," said the Machine Gun to the Mauser.—*Comrade, (N. Y.)*

The Truth.

BY R. H. KERR.

In No. 896 the Editor makes two statements which cannot be substantiated. He quotes a paragraph from Benjamin Tucker in which that writer says he would establish perfect freedom in the relation of the sexes. The Editor then says: "In this paragraph is briefly outlined the chief difference between Philosophic Anarchists and Socialists of all grades—with few exceptions."

In the literature of sex freedom three books have had a circulation far surpassing all others. One of these is "Woman in the Past, Present, and Future." The author, August Bebel, is the chosen leader of the German Social Democrats, the largest and most important body of Socialists in the world. Another is "The Woman Who Did." Its author, Grant Allen, was a leading English Socialist. The third, "The Elements of Social Science," was written by an anonymous doctor of medicine, who seems to have been an economist of the old school.

Next in order of celebrity comes the famous work of Karl Heinzen. I am not certain about his economics, but should be surprised if he is not a German Social-Democrat. Please correct me if I am wrong.

The only book to be compared with these in thoroughness are "The Subjection of Women," by John Stuart Mill; "Woman and Economics," by Charlotte Perkins Stetson; and "The Old and New Ideal," by Emil Ruedebusch. The two first are by Socialists, the last by an Anarchist.

Among other Socialist writers on sex freedom may be mentioned Edward Carpenter, Karl Pearson, William Morris, Bel-fort Bax, Bernard Shaw, G. D. Herron, and Edward Bellamy (in "Equality"); not to mention hosts of writers in foreign languages.

Now for the other side. How did the great Proudhon stand on the sex question?

The most conspicuous Socialist in the world is August Bebel, and the most conspicuous Anarchist is Peter Kropotkin. Which is the more candid on the sex question? Is it the politician, the party leader, the man who heads the largest party in the German Empire? No, for he knows that on the sex question his party is solid at his back. But the uncompromising revolutionist Kropotkin who shuns the sex question as a cat shuns water.

Who were the three men that left the Legitimation League when it declared for sex freedom? Wordsworth Donisthorpe, J. C. Spence, J. Greevz Fisher; all Voluntarists, differing from Proudhon only in name.

At one of the meetings of the Legitimation League which I attended eleven speakers defended sex freedom, and at least eight of them were active Socialists. One man spoke on the other side. He was Henry Seymour, the chief English exponent of Proudhon's banking system.

What gave the Legitimation League its boom? The heroic conduct of Edith Lanchester, the Socialist. Who got her out of the asylum? John Burns, the Socialist.

Why has Lucifer never mentioned these things?

The other statement which cannot be substantiated is this:

"Speaking for myself alone, I see very little difference be-

tween the goal of Philosophic Anarchism and that of Scientific Socialism. They both mean Liberty and Justice for all and privileges for none."

Without admitting any part of the above statement, I shall simply deal with the assertion that Philosophic Anarchism means "privileges for none."

On page 132 of "Voluntary Socialism" F. D. Tandy says:—

"The most serious objection to the occupancy and use system is that it does not provide equality of opportunity. Land being of different value, those who occupy the most valuable will be able to obtain a greater reward for their labor than those who occupy poorer land. This criticism is very just indeed."

On page 244 of "Instead of a Book," Benjamin Tucher says: "Liberty has never stood with those who profess to show on strictly economic grounds that economic rent *must* disappear or even decrease as a result of the application of the Anarchistic principle." The rest of the paragraph is worth reading, but too long to quote.

Neither Tucker nor Tandy pretends that Philosophic Anarchism will give equality of opportunity, or "privileges for none." Their mistake is that they under-estimate the amount of inequality. They have not lived among metalliferous mines, and do not realize how immense are the differences in grade between the different mines necessary to the world's supply, and what vast fortunes would be made by the users and occupiers of some of them if the users and occupiers of others made no more than wages. They also underestimate the difference in economic value between a corner lot on Broadway and an inside lot in a country town. They fail to realize the danger of letting individuals make vast fortunes out of economic rent. They do not see that, if each man is only to get what protection he pays for, the rich will be able to buy a very dangerous amount of protection; and that, in a dispute between Dives and Lazarus about invasion or use and occupancy, the man who can buy most protection will have rather an advantage, while even a free jury may not be immaculate.

Why People Do Not Marry.

BY WILLIAM COX.

Miss Susan B. Anthony thinks one reason for the decrease in the marriage rate is the increased intelligence of the women. Indirectly she may be right.

The Rev. Charles L. Kloss, pastor of the Webster Grove church near St. Louis thinks the reason is that the women are not allowed to propose, and says, "There is no reason why they should not have and exercise the same right of proposing as men."

As a matter of justice, the women should have the same right to propose as men. But that would be no remedy, because the men would still have the right to refuse. Moreover, as Miss Anthony intimates, the women refuse about as often as the men.

My experience and observation is, that the reason more people do not marry is owing to the bad marriage laws.

Under the present arrangement, the day a woman marries a man, she becomes his slave. If she owns any property, the man becomes the owner of both the woman and her property. She cannot use her own as she pleases nor sell it without the consent of her husband. He may outrage and abuse the woman in various ways, and so long as she is his wife the law upholds him in it. As a rule, a woman likes a little liberty for herself, although she is not willing that anybody else shall have any. Give a woman a chance to marry and still be the owner of herself and her property and she will marry.

On the other hand, a woman may marry a man today and tomorrow she may sue him for a settlement and between her and the lawyers they can divest him of everything he has and turn him out doors, and the lawyers will get about two dollars to the woman's one.

The fact is, under the present marriage laws, people who give any thought to the matter are afraid to marry.

Give a man a chance to marry without having to take the chances of being legally robbed and he will marry.



Paine's "Defense."

Those of our readers who are admirers of Thomas Paine—and who are not?—will be glad to see the "Defense" written by Paine which is quoted in the following letter from Philip G. Peabody to the "Springfield Republican." Paine was a Deist, and as such could now be accepted in the fellowship of the orthodox churches which in his day persecuted and despised him.

TO THE EDITOR:—To the educated people of the present day, it seems strange to read of a "defense" of Thomas Paine. In heaven's name what did Paine ever do, or say, or write, that needs any "defense"? Anyone who thinks that a "defense" of this great man is needed, is ignorant.

Not many years ago, a letter of Paine's that was new to almost every one was discovered; it has seldom been printed, and will now doubtless interest all who take an interest in the early history of this country. It shows its writer's manliness, honor, hatred of hypocrisy, and general character. The writer of the following letter needs no "defense." It is those who have maligned him, those whose religious bigotry justifies them in lying about him, who need a "defense."

It was written by Mr. Paine to John Inskeep, Mayor of Philadelphia, and has been published but once, I believe, since the time it was written in 1806.

It is as follows:

"I saw in the Aurora of January 30 a piece addressed to you and signed Isaac Hall. It contains a statement of your malevolent conduct in refusing to let him have Vine street wharf after he had bid \$50 more rent for it than another person had offered, and had been unanimously approved of by the commissioners appointed by law for that purpose. Among the reasons given by you for this refusal, one was that Mr. Hall was one of Paine's disciples. If those whom you may choose to call my disciples follow my example in doing good to mankind, they will pass the confines of this world with a happy mind, while the hope of the hypocrite shall perish and delusion sink into despair.

"I do not know who Mr. Inskeep is, for I do not remember the name of Inskeep at Philadelphia in the time that tried men's souls. He must be some mushroom of modern growth that has started upon the soil which the generous services of Thomas Paine contributed to bless with freedom; neither do I know what profession of religion he is of, nor do I care, for if he is a man malevolent and unjust, it signifies not to what class or sectary he may hypocritically belong.

"As I set too much value on my time to waste it on a man of so little consequence as yourself, I will close this short address with a declaration that puts hypocrisy and malevolence at defiance. Here it is:

"My motive and object in all my political works, beginning with 'Common Sense,' the first work I ever published, have been to rescue man from tyranny and false systems and false principles of government, and enable him to be free and establish government for himself; and I have borne my share of danger in Europe and in America in every attempt I have made for this purpose. And my motive and object in all my publications on religious subjects, beginning with the first part of the 'Age of Reason,' have been to bring man to a right reason that God has given him; to impress on him the great principles of divine morality, justice, mercy, and a benevolent disposition to all men, and to all creatures; and to excite in him a spirit of trust, confidence, and consolation in his Creator, unshackled by the fable and fiction of books, by whatever invented name they may be called.

"I am happy in the continual contemplation of what I have done, and I thank God that He gave me talents for the purpose and fortitude to do it. It will make the continual consolation of my departing hours whenever they may finally arrive.

THOMAS PAINE."

The above letter was written by Mr. Paine about three

years before his death in Columbia street, New York City, not New Rochelle, as is commonly supposed.

It is a strange thing that men and women, otherwise truthful, are so often ready to slander a man who does not happen to have precisely the same religion as themselves.

PHILIP G. PEABODY, Boston.

The American Press-Writers' Association

Continues to grow in spite of all opposition. The most notable activity along Lucifer's line has been in the Philadelphia "Bulletin," where A. Johnson, A. Heymoolen, C. L. James, and several others have pleaded for reason and justice in dealing with the Anarchists. In Boston "Traveler" A. A. Orcutt had an article on "Government." J. T. Small presented the case of the "Home" colonists. Frank C. Evans, in the course of an editorial in the January number of "Vampyre" on the "Free Press and the United States of America," says of "Discontent:" "The postal authorities have brazenly buncoed the publication by accepting the postage rates of transmission and then refusing to allow the paper to leave the postoffice. This high-handed procedure strikes us in the light of highway robbery tinged with despicable sneak-thievery, all in the name of the law." Dorchester, (Mass.) "Beacon," January 11, under the caption "Justice to the Anarchists," prints letters from Mrs. Frederique A. de Crane and Cassius V. Cook commending one from the writer that appeared in the "Beacon" Dec. 21. From Mr. Cook's letter the following excerpt is taken: "Can government justify injustice?" "Violation of even the law of civil liberty by itself is no argument with which to convince Anarchists. If the government becomes a persecutor of these political heretics, is it not the very proof that Anarchists need to show that government is aggression? A despotic government breeds Anarchists. Gall the people with restrictions, impose despotic measures, grind down the discontent, smother the expression of indignant criticism, and you are bound to make Anarchists of your philosophers and criminals of your ignoramuses."

On anti-vaccination "Our Home Rights" for December prints an able article from Dr. R. S. Clymer on the Camden, N. J. lock-jaw cases; Dr. Immanuel Pfeiffer gives several instances of the "Many Victims" of the recent vaccination crusade in Boston; J. T. Small edits an anti-vaccination department. J. M. Greene fills seven pages of the January number of the "Animals Defender" (Boston) with anti-vaccination news items. Brother Green is the moving spirit organizing a state society to effect the repeal of the compulsory law in Massachusetts. Dr. Clymer appeared in the Rockland (Mass.) "Independent" and the "Illinois State Register" (Springfield), Jan 8, with very good articles against compulsory vaccination. The editor of the "Register" commends his effort in a half column editorial.

NEW MEMBERS.

206 af. Rowell, J. Herbert, Austin, Ill. Donation \$1.

207 d. Church, W. H., 17 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass.

HONORABLE MENTION.

198 f. Brocter, Caris, Rapid City, S. D. Donation \$1.

A. C. ARMSTRONG, 17 Leroy St., Dorchester, Mass.

O! brave Apostle, thou hast truly said—

It is trivial thing indeed to be
Judged of man's judgment. Conscience must be free,
Nor blindly nor dogmatically led,
Either by living oracles or dead.

—William Lloyd Garrison.

There can be no defeat in Freedom's cause,
Save for the moment. Though its flag may fall,
Yet it will rise again, and sweep in light;
For all our hope is in its glowing folds.

—Samuel P. Putnam.

"And how are you off for police protection over here?" asked the New Yorker. "Oh, our policemen are pretty decent," replied the Philadelphian. "We don't need much protection from them."—Ex.

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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Kingcraft, Priestcraft, Statecraft.

One of the most note-worthy movements of the times is the drift in the United States towards monarchy and aristocracy. The official appointment by the Washington government of three special ambassadors, with war-ships and suites and secretaries to attend the coronation of King Edward of England next June, is something quite unheard of in the history of this country.

In answer to criticisms upon this expensive and very un-American proceeding a city daily tells us that in so doing we as a republic do not abate one jot of our opposition to the principle of monarchy, or of our championship of the opposite principle, that the people should rule.

But it may very pertinently be asked, What would have been the fate of an administration or of a political party in this country, previous to our civil war, that would have sent such an embassy to do honor to the coronation of any monarch, whether English, German, Russian or what not? Would that administration or that party have stood the ghost of a chance of re-election to power?

But since the triumph of nationalism, or centralization, over the principle of a federated republic in 1865, the drift towards monarchy in this country has been rapid. Our Presidents are simply elective monarchs, clothed with autocratic powers greater in many respects than are the powers exercised by many European monarchs; and the costly aristocracy with which the Washington government surrounds itself is fashioned, year by year, more and still more after the pattern set by the aristocracies of Europe.

Speaking of our American aristocracy the Chicago "Chronicle" has this to say:

"Criticism continues to hum over the selections said to compose American aristocracy.

"The criterion of wealth alone does not fit every case. Idleness appears, however, to be universally prevalent among them outside their fashionable fluttering. Morality, it is frankly conceded, is not required for admission to the coterie. A number of its most conspicuous members are celebrated chiefly for their lack of morality. Nor is intellect a qualification for recognition in the list.

"It would appear, therefore, that the American aristocracy is reduced to the level of the posters once famous, Aubrey Beardsley's characteristic drawings, of which Philip Gilbert Hamerton said that the types presented indicated 'neither intellect nor morals, but were highly decorative.'"

The coming of Prince Henry, brother of the Emperor of Germany, the entertainment of himself and his large party at the expense of the American people, the taxpayers—all without asking their consent—to say nothing of the significance of the ceremonies of launching and christening an imperial yacht in American waters, something never known before—all these things show, as no mere words can show, whither our national government is drifting.

Added to these signs of the times comes another unheard of performance, namely, the honors paid to a high dignitary of the church of Rome in the White House at Washington—the kneeling to the representative of the Pope by the ambassadors of Catholic countries. While it may be said that our President is not directly responsible for such honors paid to a priest at the executive mansion, it would have been easy to say to these foreign sycophants that this is not the time or place for the giving or receiving of hierarchic homage.

But all these things are necessary, probably, in the evolution of Statecraft in the United States, which craft includes all the ARCHIES and all the CRACIES—monarchy, hierarchy, oligarchy, theocracy, plutocracy, aristocracy, democracy (more properly called LICK-SPITTLE-CRACY!) and the rest.

M. HARMAN.

The Literature of Sex Freedom.

Our constant and faithful helper, R. B. Kerr, whose home is Phoenix, B. C., has performed an important service to Lucifer's work by calling attention to prominent writers upon sex freedom—the department or field of reform that for more than two thousand years has been most neglected, most ignored, by reformers.

All of those whose names are mentioned by Friend Kerr, deserve honorable mention and their books careful perusal. Other names will doubtless occur to our readers as deserving honorable mention for their efforts in this line of work, writers and speakers who are not reckoned as either Socialists or Anarchists.

Replying briefly to our friend's first criticism, will say that when speaking of what I believe to be the "chief difference between Philosophic Anarchists and Socialists of all grades—with few exceptions" I had in mind the Anarchists and Socialists of my acquaintance, and the books and papers of American writers on Anarchism and Socialism. The Socialists of Chicago so far as I know, ignore, else antagonize, the subject of sex freedom—all except the co-workers and adherents of George D. Herron, and it was to these I had reference when saying, "with few exceptions."

We are in receipt at this office, of many Socialist journals—Social Democratic, Single Tax, Referendum, etc., not to mention those forms of State Socialism known as Bryan Democracy and Populism, and so far as I now recall not one of them "comes out into the open" in defense of sex freedom, as taught by Karl Heinzen, Benjamin Tucker, Emil Ruedebusch and others of the more distinctively Anarchist school.

In giving the comparative circulation of books treating upon sex as an ethical problem, the work of August Bebel is named as first. Not being in possession of statistical data I accept this statement as true, but would remind our friend that the ground had been prepared for the reception of "Woman in the Past, Present and Future" by the man to whom a subordinate rank is given as sex-reformer—Karl Heinzen.

"For more than a quarter of a century previous to 1879," quoting Heinzen's biographer, Karl Schmemann, "'Der Pionier,' a weekly paper, was edited and published in Boston," by the author of "The Rights of Women and the Sexual Relations," which book had been first published in 1852—both the book and the weekly paper being in the German language. Speaking of this weekly paper Schmemann says, "'Der Pionier' had a world-wide reputation and circulation, wherever the German tongue reigned; in Europe and America it had its readers among the most advanced and cultured minds, and when the report of the fictitious convention [of the "Women in Frauenstadt"] first appeared therein [1869] in such a masterful style it created an unusual sensation both here and abroad."

Previous to this, in 1855, in the same paper had appeared a controversy between the editor, Heinzen,—under the alias of Luise Meyen—and the renowned German philosopher, Arnold Ruge, then an exile in England, "about the emancipation and rights of women." This controversy, like the report of the Woman's convention, "created not a little sensation in the German literary world; the wonderful logic, boldness and poetic beauty that characterize the utterances of the intrepid Luise were without comparison."

Elsewhere Schmemann says of this weekly paper—which seems well to have deserved its name, "The Pioneer"—"it is safe to say that at no time and among no nation there ever was published a paper that breathed a like independent, bold and humane spirit. Heinzen was among the first intrepid champions of the emancipation of woman, incessantly vindicating the rights of the fair sex to liberate the better half of mankind from the despotism of the 'lord and master,' and the drudgery of a degrading thralldom."

Here, then, we have the explanation of the wonderful circulation of Bebel's "Woman in the Past, Present etc." The ground had been ploughed and the seed sown by the intrepid pioneer, Heinzen, in his more than a quarter century of incessant labor in behalf of woman's emancipation, "at a time when it required more than ordinary courage to do so."

While wishing to detract nothing from the work of August Bebel I think that he himself would accord the greater honor to Heinzen—for making it possible for his own work to meet the appreciation that is now accorded thereto.

August Bebel is reckoned a German Socialist, but so far as I have read his book, "Woman" etc., he is a thorough going Anarchist, as witness this paragraph, on page 154:

Human beings must be in a position to act as freely, where their strongest impulse is concerned, as in the case of any other natural instinct. *The gratification of the sexual impulse [the strongest natural instinct or impulse] is as strictly the personal affair of the individual as the gratification of every other natural instinct.* No one has to give an account of him or herself, and no third person has the slightest right of intervention. Intelligence, culture, and independence will direct and facilitate a right choice. Should incompatibility, disappointment and dislike ensue, morality demands the dissolution of a tie that has become unnatural and therefore immoral.

Italics are those of the book, and the same applies to the succeeding quoted paragraphs.

Friend Kerr asks to be set right if Heinzen is not a German Socialist. What he would now call himself if alive, I have no means of knowing—Heinzen died Nov. 2, 1880—but so far as I have been able to glean from his writings he was an Anarchist of the Jeffersonian type. On page 167 of C. H. Kerr's edition of "Woman and the Sexual Relations"

occur these words: "'Democracy.' I supply this term with quotation marks to indicate that I borrow it. For at bottom it does not mean what in the radical sense it ought. Democracy (popular RULE) is by no means an expression for a rational or appropriate conception"—evidently meaning that he is opposed to rulership, whether by a popular majority or by an aristocracy or monarchy. Proceeding he says:

Where there is authority there must also be servants. But a free people know neither the one nor the other. Over whom are the people to rule? Even their office-holders and agents they can only entrust and commission with their affairs. The term democracy came into use simply to denote an opposition to an authority over the people. The people are not to be ruled by others, from which it does not follow, however, that now the people themselves are to establish an authority, but that all authority must disappear. And with the conception of authority the conception of government will vanish.

If this is not Anarchism—no bosses, no rulers, but every one to be his own ruler—then I do not know how to interpret language. On the next page, however, he expresses himself thus:

Anarchy in its bad sense is barbarism, and in its good sense an impossibility. State and Anarchy are contradictions, for a State is as little conceivable without as Anarchy with organization. But organization in the free State is nothing more than order and arrangement of business.

By these words it would seem that Heinzen considered Anarchy totally opposed to organization. In thus considering I think he makes a serious mistake. Anarchy—self-rule—is not inconsistent with voluntary co-operation, and this again is quite consistent with "order and arrangement of business." Heinzen's Free State is then simply Anarchism applied to the practical business of life.

But whatever may have been his shortcomings in other respects his Anarchism on the question of "Sexual Relations"—by far the most important of all—is pronounced and indisputable, as when he makes Julie Vom Berg, President of the Woman's Congress, to say, in answer to a critic:

Among all the daughters of the goddess Liberty there is none, who, according to her nature, must possess the properties of her mother in a higher degree than Love. Love and free love are therefore synonymous. It ought not to be necessary to talk of free love, any more than of wet water, or hot fire. I might, however, conceive of love as not free in the sense that the feeling, the necessity, the passion that unites two beings, binds them completely, destroys their free will, turns them irresistibly away from everything else. But just because true love has this effect, exerts this power, creates this necessity, it ought no more to be hindered in its choice, by external force, than it will require external bonds to insure its permanence. A man and woman who do not love each other ought not to be united, or where they are united, they ought again to be separated; a man and woman who love each other ought not to be kept apart, and they need no external force to remain together.

As to Grant Allen—who is called "a leading English Socialist." In this case, as in that of Kropotkin, Proudhon, Donisthorpe, Henry Seymour and other names mentioned by our correspondent, I class them all by what they have said and done, rather than by what they may have called themselves, or been called by others. Grant Allen's "Woman Who Did" is a thoroughly Anarchistic work, if I know the meaning of words, as witness this statement of principle by Herminia Barton, the heroine of the book just named, page 43:

I will not palter or parley with the unholy thing [marriage]. Even though you go to a registry office [a civil contract marriage] and get rid as far as you can of every relic of the sacerdotal and sacramental idea, yet the marriage itself is still an assertion of man's supremacy over woman. It ties her to him for life, it ignores her individuality, it compels her to promise what no human heart can be sure of performing; for you can

contract to do or not to do, easily enough, but to contract to feel or not to feel—what transparent absurdity! It is full of all evils, and I decline to consider it. If I love a man at all, I must love him on terms of perfect freedom. I can't bind myself down to live with him to my shame one day longer than I love him; or to love him at all if I find him unworthy of my purest love, or unable to retain it; or if I discover some other more fit to be loved by me.

As in the case of Bebel I am strongly inclined to the opinion that the writings of Heinzen are chiefly responsible for the book, "Woman Who Did," as also for most if not all the later works on woman's rights and wrongs. A part of the credit, however, as seed-sower, is probably due to the anonymous writer of "Elements of Social Science"—a work more Anarchistic than Socialistic, which book was first published soon after Heinzen began his reformatory publications.

Lucifer has not been silent—as intimated—in regard to the Lanchester case. Besides giving an account of it in the paper we have distributed some hundreds of copies of the book, by Oswald Dawson, entitled, "The Bar Sinister and Licit Love," which book is largely devoted to a history of that celebrated case, and the connection of the Legitimation League therewith.

LIBERTY, JUSTICE, EQUALITY, VERSUS PRIVILEGE.

Replying briefly to the second criticism of our British Columbian correspondent, I would say,

First—All that any one can mean by Liberty and Justice for all and Privileges for none, is a standard of human ethics APPROXIMATING to such ideal; not that such ideal is possible of realization now, or that it will be possible in the near future. If all legalized privileges, monopolies, discriminations, robberies, were abolished today there would still remain, and for centuries to come would remain, enough of inequality to cause strife, want, despair and misery beyond the power of tongue to describe. Human evolution, ethical progress, moves slowly, even though artificial fetters be removed.

Second—While Friend Kerr seems to lean much upon authority—in other words, to set much value upon the opinions of the authors of books treating of Anarchism, Socialism, Sex Freedom, etc., I have no use for any of them as AUTHORITY. That the OPINIONS of some writers are worthy of careful attention, I readily grant, but that any one author is wise enough, logical enough, to be considered authority on any line of progressive thought I certainly do not admit.

With this thought in mind I would say that with land monopoly abolished; also monopoly of the issue of money; also monopoly of trade (tariffs), patent monopolies etc., with these abolished the evils of economic rent would be reduced to a minimum as compared to what they now are. Under freedom of access to unoccupied land, and with transportation at cost, also with free exchange of all commodities, the title to a corner lot on Broadway, New York, or on State Street, Chicago, would not be the mine of wealth it now is. And much the same reasoning would apply to the case of the discoverer of valuable ores, oil etc., in the bowels of the earth.

I wish to say, just here however, that while opposed to all government of man by man; the arguments, the philosophy, of the Single Taxers appeal to me with much force—not as a universal panacea, but "as a ROAD, not a GOAL," as George D. Herron said of Socialism.

The literature of Single Tax I regard as well worthy of candid and earnest study by all seeking a way out of the

economic and political wilderness in which the people of this country, and of all other lands calling themselves civilized and enlightened, are now painfully and—as it would seem—hopelessly wandering.

As a fitting close to this too long article I venture to repeat, that as some of us see it, the greatest impediment now in the way of securing Equality of Opportunity for all—politically, industrially, economically etc., is the denial of equal opportunity to be BORN well. Denial—by Church, State and Grundy moralists—of the right to come into life with a heritage of self-respect, self-reliance, self-ownership; denial of heritage to a feeling that we belong on the earth; a feeling that the WORLD NEEDS US quite as much as we need the world; a feeling, an innate conviction, that it is our right to be a law unto ourselves, and to live our own lives in our own way so long as we do not trespass upon the right of others to do the same.

This heritage, this right of inheritance, is denied to us by the artificial laws, customs and theologic superstitions relating to SEX—to motherhood and fatherhood; that is, to marriage, to the conjugal relations, their rights, responsibilities or duties.

This is why I said at the outset of this article that R. B. Kerr had performed an important service to Lucifer's work by calling attention to prominent writers upon sex freedom. That there is now a Literature of Sex Freedom, and that this literature is gradually winning its way to popular recognition—forging its way to the front, so to speak, is perhaps the most hopeful of all the signs of the times.

For until the worth of sex, the importance of sex, the dignity of the mission of sex, is properly understood, appreciated, honored and freed from the shackles of superstition, obloquy and ignorance, it is safe to say that all progress in other lines of human endeavor will prove unsatisfactory, disappointing and nugatory so far as real human advancement, real and lasting human happiness are concerned.

M. HARMAN.

Two Letters.

From the Treasurer of the Young Men's Christian Association, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., we have received the following letter:

MY DEAR MR. HARMAN:—Will you kindly send me a few sample copies of your weekly Lucifer; also any information that you can, either personal views or views of others bearing on the negative side of the following question: Resolved that the promulgation of Anarchistic principles in the United States should be made a criminal offense. A prompt answer will greatly oblige,
Yours, etc., P. R. COMER.

The reply sent is as follows:

P. R. COMER, Dear Sir: In response to your request, we are sending you several copies of Lucifer in which you will find matter pertaining to the question of Anarchism.

There are many reasons why the promulgation of Anarchistic principles should not be made a criminal offense, but the most important reason, from the Governmentalist viewpoint is that no such legislation can be framed which will be effective. For if the advocacy of self government and self-control be made a felony, a great number of good men in all parties must be classed as criminals. Thousands of persons thought Bryan an advocate of Anarchistic sentiments. Who is to decide? And if only the weak and poor and comparatively helpless are condemned, will the law and its administrators be respected the more for such condemnation? Such legislation did not stamp out Christianity; it has not suppressed Nihilism in Russia nor revolutionary Anarchism in Italy and Spain. "The blood of

the martyr is the seed of the Church," always, and that whether the persecuted martyr and his church be right or wrong. The worst use we can make of an opponent is to abuse him. If I believed that good could come through violence, through a revolution, I would welcome all oppressive laws, all persecution. But I do not believe that people can see clearly with their eyes blinded by the blood of their loved ones; nor think clearly with their minds full of thoughts of revenge. Despair is the mother of violence.

These thoughts, hastily written, are given merely by way of suggestion. I would like to say much more, but can't take time to write long letters. Yours sincerely, LILLIAN HARMAN.

Better a thousand fold abuse of Free Speech than denial of Free Speech; the abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—Charles Bradlaugh.

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